

FREEDOM IS CLOSE TO HOME

By FRANK CHODOROV



THE LADY WAS expounding the merits of the Bricker proposal to amend the Constitution at a Chicago gathering. She had devoted a lot of study to the subject and her exposition of the legalities was almost letter-perfect. Yet, the audience, though highly sympathetic to the speaker and the proposal, seemed bored; they had evidently been decided for the amendment before they came to the hall, and only wanted to know why the President or anybody else should be against it. "Are there no Americans in Washington", asked one? "Are they all internationalists?"

On the plane coming back East, my neighbor glanced at the headline in the newspaper I was reading and blurted out: "I hope they pass it." "So do I", said I, and then asked, "Why are you for it?" "Because", he replied, and not without emotion, "it will keep those damned UN foreigners out of our affairs."

That is what I gathered from several conversations over the highly technical question of an amendment to the Constitution: that the general enthusiasm for it stemmed from an antipathy toward the United Nations and an instinctive jealousy of the American tradition. To prove the point, I asked my traveling companion whether he would be for the amendment if there were no UN, or if we were out of that body. "Hell, no", he replied; "what sense would the amendment have in that case?" He was wrong, of course, for the amendment was designed to prevent the President from making commitments to foreign nations which might circumvent or supercede the Constitution, and which would be in effect even if there were no UN.

The fact is, if you scratch the average Bricker amendment enthusiast you find a thinly disguised isolationist". The person would probably enter a denial, if you so described him, for the connotation which has been attached to the word "isolationist" makes the designation rather unacceptable. But, despite the millions spent by the well-organized and indefatigable internationalists to wipe it out, the instinct of *pro patria* is still strong in the country, and all they can show for their pains is the smearing of a word.

This deep-rooted attachment to the American tradition, as against all others, is most prevalent in the Midwest. No doubt the inarticulate masses in all sections of the country are equally inclined toward "minding our own business", which means keeping out of foreign entanglements. But, in the Midwest that square-toed attitude toward life which nearness to the soil engenders has been least affected by the cant of pseudo-intellectualism, and there unalloyed nationalism freely declares itself. An Omaha editor said to me: "This

section is more 'isolationist' than ever. What with our experience in Korea, the waste of billions on American-hating Europe, the steady flow of blatherskite from so-called diplomats in the UN, and all the rest, the feeling here is such that something like the America First movement, if one had the guts to start it, would spread like wildfire." He meant, of course, a movement to get us out of the UN.

But, why this growing antipathy toward the UN? You get a variety of reasons when you inquire, most of them adding up to Vishinsky; but you realize that in the main the answers are rationalizations of a common fear — a fear that in some way this organization is a threat to our traditional freedom. It is this feeling of danger that is arousing the American from his customary lethargy toward public affairs.

Carlisle said that only the sick know how well they are. This is true also of a nation. A people who have found comfort in adjustment to a tradition are not likely to pay any attention to it; they take it for granted as they apply themselves to the daily problems of life. From this indifference they are aroused only when a series of events drives home the fact that the tradition upon which their adjustment rests is being undermined, and then only do they concern themselves with public affairs. That is what is happening now. The interest shown in the recondite matter of constitutional law is merely an evidence of alarm; they feel, rather than understand, that the Bricker proposal is an attempt to prevent the mad One-Worlders, and their sapient Communist kinfolk, from wrecking the sacred American tradition as recorded in their holy Bill of Rights.

The UN is under attack simply because the instinct of freedom is aroused. It is dawning upon Americans that freedom is a home-grown product, and that to entrust it to an internationalist government is to bid it goodbye. When the UN was insinuated into our lives, its true purpose was neatly hidden by its promise of peace; a general weariness with war facilitated the acceptance of this false promise, and thus gave the dreamy One-Worlders and their scheming compatriots opportunity to dig a trap for our freedom. But, disillusionment has set in.

It was never possible for the UN to keep its promise of peace. It is not necessary to go into the causes of war to show that an international organization is unable to prevent it; we need only look to history for evidence. No combination of nations has ever kept the peace except within its own borders, and then only when one of the nations dominated the others. Athens maintained peace in the Ionian League by virtue of its military and economic domination of the other members, and Rome was similarly situated in the world over which it ruled; in both cases, be it noted, war with non-members was the regular order of things. During the life of the League of Nations — presumably an organization of equals — there was no surcease of war, and that has been true during the eight turbulent years of the UN.

Hence, faith in the promise of the UN is just about gone. Even the politicians who continue to mouth that promise, for their own purposes, have shifted their faith to mili-

tary alliances and warlike preparations. It now seems evident that either the UN will disintegrate (probably with the advent of the anticipated war) or one of the two most powerful members will rule the roost. There is no question about the aims and strategy of the U.S.S.R.: it is determined to win the position of top dog, and, eschewing war for the moment, is making use of the legal and parliamentary machinery of the UN to promote its purpose — which is to undermine the sovereignty of the United States and thus weaken it as an opposing force. It is a certainty now that unless these shrewd opportunists had not seen in the UN an instrument for advancing their purpose of world domination, they would never have accepted membership.

THE INSTINCT OF freedom which now finds expression in distrust of the UN is supported by theory and historical experience. Freedom is simply a matter of keeping government from getting bigger and more powerful, which it is always inclined to do. It is the business of the people to keep it within bounds. But that requires constant supervision, which is quite a chore when one has a living to make, and the chore becomes more difficult as the government is farther removed from control by the governed. Within any given culture, the amount of freedom a people can enjoy is in direct relation to the distance between them and their government.

This is so because government consists of people. We speak of a government of law as distinguished from a government of men; but, the fact is that the law must be administered by men, and in the administration of the law they cannot divest themselves of the frailties common to all men. Among these are avarice, ostentation and a love of power. The rest of us must fall back on our own resources for the satisfaction of these cravings, but the government official has political power in his knapsack. If he surreptitiously uses this gadget, entrusted to him for the public weal, for the gratification of his whims, he is simply yielding to temptation. Nor is it difficult for him to build up in his own mind a moral justification for the misuse of this power, and to really believe that he is working for the "public good" when in fact he is only following the natural pull of avarice, ostentation and the love of power.

The local politician, the one who operates within the purview of the people who put him in office, is held in some restraint by social pressures, and the smaller the political unit the more effective are these pressures. Being human, he does not like to be pointed out as a "crook" by his neighbors, or to see his daughter discriminated against because of his unsavory reputation. But, such considerations do not bother the politician who is a stranger to his constituents, or if his preferment is a matter over which they have little or no control, as in the case of a bureaucrat.

Recognition of the fact that freedom is close to home led the Founding Fathers to put strict limits on the powers vested in the proposed central governments, and to place all unspecified powers in the hands of the state governments. That was the necessary condition for ratification of the Constitution, for the American people of that time were con-

scious of the need of keeping government under constant surveillance; they were not entrusting their freedom to a government they could not keep their eyes on and, if need be, lay their hands on.

A young lady to whom I pointed out this characteristic of the Constitution exclaimed, "But, our local government stinks." That is true only because her nose is close to her home town establishment. If it were long enough to catch the whiffs from the Potomac, she would probably find the local government less odoriferous by comparison. Not that the Washington official is more "corrupt", but his comparative freedom from public pressures gives him more opportunity to operate in ways conducive to his own interests and inclinations, and with less concern for the taxpayer.

IT IS GENERALLY recognized that rule by bureaucracy is a main threat to freedom. That is because the bureaucrat is farthest removed from the people over whom he exercises jurisdiction. In his daily administration of the law, cases that were not anticipated when the statute was drawn up become subject to his interpretation, and his comparative freedom from restraint leads him to decide in ways most pleasing to his vanity or his interests. Thus, he builds up around himself a body of decisions, called "administrative law", which in effect become rule by idiosyncrasy. That is why, to use the lady's word, Washington "stinks".

Now, if you farther remove government from control of the governed, if you place the people's fate in the hands of a bureaucracy of diplomats, as the internationalists propose, you simply liquidate freedom altogether. The leash of public opinion would be too attenuated to be effective. An internationalist government must be absolutist in character.

Our One-Worlders seem blissfully ignorant of this fact, convincing themselves of an opposite conclusion by logic that defies understanding. They say, in effect, that since a number of small governments is bad, severally and collectively, one big government must be good. It never occurs to them that the one big government they propose would embody the total of all the deficiencies of the component parts, or perhaps the quintessence of their worst features.

Nationalism is a necessary condition of freedom. This is particularly so in the case of the United States. In our tradition the concept of freedom rests on the metaphysical concept of natural rights; we hold that freedom is inherent in the individual by grace of God. In the traditions of all other countries the contrary view is held, that freedom consists of grants from the ruling power. Hence, in any international government that may be set up, the non-American concept must prevail. No Bill of Rights drawn up by such a body could embrace our traditional concept, simply because the majority of delegates could not understand it; in their heritage the doctrine of government by "divine right" is too strongly entrenched.

More by intuition than by logic, the American people are aware of this fact. That is why they are against the UN. That is why they instinctively reject One Worldism. That is why they are for the Bricker Amendment.

HUMAN EVENTS

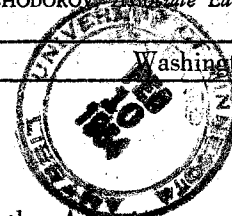
FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor*

FRANK CHODOROV, *Associate Editor*

Volume XI, No. 45

Wednesday, February 3, 1954

Washington, D. C.



Inside the White House: Senator Bricker performed a great service for the American people this week when he said that the President gets some bad advice and information from "advisers". This fact has been well known around the Capital for some time, but it has not until now been drawn to public attention so forcefully and authoritatively.

From a witness, not a participant, in a recent White House scene, we have obtained a convincing picture of the bad effects of such advice, as follows:

The President was last week receiving some visitors who are well-informed about the political situation in various places. On the one hand, they sought to warn the President of the dangerous repercussions of certain New Deal policies launched by the White House. On the other hand, they mentioned the Bricker Amendment as one with great popular support and one which, if it had presidential backing, would "take the heat off" the White House for some of the less successful legislative proposals.

The response of Ike was said to have been "thermal", if not "cataleptic". He accused leaders of the Bricker Amendment movement of being on the expense account of two well-known Texas oil millionaires. This assertion is simply not true, and is a typical product of the choir of Democratic New Deal columnists. He also dismissed the two gentlemen, both of whom are well-known outstanding patriots, as "nuts". One of these oil men was of crucial importance to Ike in his bid for the nomination in 1952. Obviously, White House "advisers" read these left-wing scribes and pass on their dubious reporting to Ike as facts.

The President's temper rose — our report goes on — and he beat on the table. He reportedly said that if he had to work for elimination of the famous controversial "which" clause of the Bricker Amendment to the detriment of the Republican Party, he would do so. And he added that if his doctor told him that by taking the stump against the Bricker Amendment he would endanger his life he would take that risk.

Clearly, what the normally amiable and easy-going President had heard from those around him aroused him to a thoroughly unjustified pitch of excitement. If he had balanced this talk by consulting with, say, the realistic GOP Chairman, Len Hall, he would not have made such a dismaying impression on his visitors.

Yes, Bricker was right in his diagnosis of the White House situation, as he has been on many other matters.

Bricker Amendment: Four camps now apparently exist in the Senate. ONE: the faithful Bricker group, which seems to be by far the most numerous. TWO: the backers of the George Amendment which, in its present stage, is unacceptable to the Administration because it prevents executive agreements from overriding the Constitution and unacceptable to the Bricker group because it does not include treaties. THREE: the New Deal Democratic Kefauver-Lehman clique which wants no amendment at all. FOUR: the Administration followers, New Deal Republicans who would like to see an amendment go through but will not vote to close loopholes so as to protect the Constitution from treaties or executive

Published weekly at 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.
Copyright 1954 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

agreements. This faction would like to get the political credit for making others believe that it had sought to defend the Constitution.

Bricker's amendment has two chances to pass, as the situation stands at this hour of going to press. If the debate can be prolonged, mounting public sentiment might scare many Senators into line for it. Congressional mail favoring the amendment of the Ohio Senator is taking a sharp upturn and many citizens are just beginning to open up with their letter writing. (It is recalled that the famous court-packing plan of Roosevelt was defeated by the strategy of prolonging debate.)

One factor responsible for this increase in Congressional mail is the kind of opposition which has appeared in the past ten days. On January 22, the *Daily Worker* blasted the Bricker proposal. On January 28, Adlai Stevenson rhetorically reproved it. In addition, the National Lawyers Guild, called by a House Committee "The Legal Bulwark of Communism in the United States", also attacked the amendment. Observers say that the opposition from the Left has done a lot to open the people's eyes to the radical nature of the opposition to the Bricker measure.

The Bricker group can also win if an effort to recruit Southern supporters gets under way. It is not impossible that Senator George could be won over and carry with him a number of Southern Senators.

The Administration is said to be counting heavily on one card in its hand — or one that it believes it possesses. It is impossible for the Administration to cut off debate because "cloture" would require a two-thirds majority in the Senate — and it cannot muster this. A motion to recommit the Bricker proposal to the Judiciary Committee appears more feasible. That would require only a majority vote and, it is reported, Administration forces figure that they can, as a last desperate measure, put recommitment over. If that happens, the Bricker amendment — so say veteran observers on the Hill — will be in substance dead for this session of Congress. For, even if the Judiciary Committee reported the bill out again later, it would go to the bottom of the session's legislative calendar and Congress would probably adjourn without reaching it. Bricker forces are well aware of the danger of recommitment and are maneuvering to fend it off.

The situation on Capitol Hill as of now is described as "remarkably fluid", and can best be termed as "more psychological than logical". In short, anything can happen — is the word from the cloakrooms.

Not Merely Gossip: It is private talk among Harvard alumni that their alma mater is facing great danger, as a result of the university authorities' "liberal" handling of the subversive problem. Professor Furry, put on the griddle by Senator McCarthy, has testified that he was once a Communist party member, but declined to reveal his companions in the party. Possible contempt proceedings are threatened, which would bring further adverse publicity for Harvard. All this has caused grave apprehensions among many graduates of Harvard. Some are inclined to let President Pusey off easily, claiming that his predecessor, Dr. Conant, and the Harvard Board of Overseers were at fault in establishing the "liberal" line of dealing with the subversive problem. On the other hand, it is noticed that Pusey, in his recent report to the Board, lavishly praised Conant. New elections to the Board of Overseers have just been announced to take place in the next few months. This unrest of the alumni on the subversive matters may well be reflected in the polling.

● Undersecretary of State Donald Lourie, who has recently resigned, may be offered another job in the Eisenhower Administration. Lourie has been rather buffeted about in his job of Undersecretary for Administration. For one thing, "liberals" censure him for bringing into the Department Mr. Scott McLeod, new and vigorous security director who has been responsible for disposing of "security risks". On the other hand, Lourie has not gotten rid of many obvious Acheson holdovers, causing much criticism from the Right. But now, it is recalled, Lourie was originally brought into the Department through the suggestion of General Lucius Clay, Chairman of the Continental Can Company and bellwether of the groups attacking the Bricker Amendment. Clay is credited with placing many persons in the new GOP Administration. It is believed that he has in mind another official spot for Lourie.

● The National Trade Policy Committee, which is fighting for lower tariffs but is also regarded as not too realistic in its ideas, last week drew guffaws from the floor of Congress. The Committee and its cohorts do not exactly spare the "well-heeled" lobbyists of the high tariff interests, somewhat overlooking the many special interests that want tariffs lowered. Hence, when Rep. Bailey brought up the fact that the staff of the National Trade Policy Committee had not registered under provisions of the Congressional Lobbying Act, he brought down the House, literally. Key figures on the Committee — such as Charles P. Taft ("liberal" brother of the late Senator), John H. Ferguson and Mrs. Rachel S. Bell, hastily got registered and the fact was publicly acknowledged on the floor, to more laughs, by Rep. Bailey.

Bound Volumes: About March 1, bound volumes of the 1953 issues of HUMAN EVENTS, with a topical index, will be available. Orders are being taken now. The price is \$4.00.

Galloping Socialism: Within the last forty-eight hours a tabulation of the major bills in the New York State Legislature has appeared, demonstrating how the gospel of Marx has become almost commonplace in the nation's largest State. One notes the absence of any bill to promote free enterprise in business, but a flock of measures to rob selected Peters to pay for collective Pauls. For instance:

There is a bill to create a system of State-aided community mental health boards. Another authorizes a \$200,000,000 State bond issue for public housing and slum clearance. Still another would permit New York City to substitute a business income tax for the present gross business tax, thus giving the cities' reds and pinks a chance to open up a lush source for more hundreds of millions of give-away. Then there's a proposed bill to transfer the four municipal colleges to a State University. Why? Naturally, to centralize education. Others would: increase from \$30 to \$33 maximum weekly disability benefits, increase from \$32 to \$36 maximum weekly workman's compensation benefits, and restore State aid for child-care centers.

Thus do the less provident and able pursue relentlessly the simple technique of making those more thrifty and enterprising divvy up, through the power of government. Is it true that when the New York Legislature catches cold our other State bodies at least sneeze?

Health Insurance: The President has sent to Congress an idea which is apparently taxing the best legal minds on the Hill, as members seek ways to put it into legislative form. We refer to the idea of a government guarantee of private health insurance. If and when it is worked out, it may well embody — we fear — some government interference, as well as government subsidy to private insurance companies.

The well-known columnist, Raymond Moley, in a recent syndicated piece on the progress of "Creeping Socialism", comes up with a suggestion that would incorporate Mr. Eisenhower's thought without involving the government. He proposes that "insurance for medical and hospital expenses have an exemption of, say, \$50-\$100, on the same principle that automobile insurance now has a \$50 exemption." Such a solution would discourage malingering, while the cost of medical insurance for the more serious cases would be lowered.

But, that is a matter in which the government plays no part; it is purely within the realm of the free economy. Will insurance companies take to it, when the prospect of government subsidy is before them? Some might favor it. For, socialism is so easy to take, so hard to get rid of.

Watch for: *McCarthy and His Enemies*, a thorough study of the investigative career of the controversial Senator and an analysis of the social implications of "McCarthyism", will be published in March by the Henry Regnery Co. The authors are Wm. S. Buckley, Jr., and Brent Bozell. Buckley wrote the controversial best-seller, *God and Man at Yale*.

The social, economic and political implications of the Sixteenth (income tax) Amendment has long engaged the interest of our associate, Frank Chodorov. He has at long last put his ideas on the subject in a book — *The Income Tax: Root of All Evil* — which will be published in March by Devin-Adair.

The annual George Washington Day Dinner of the American Good Government Society will be held on Monday evening, February 22. This year former President Hoover and Governor Shivers of Texas will receive the 1954 awards. Last year, awards were given to the late Senator Taft and Senator Harry F. Byrd. * Speaker of the evening will be Senator Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota. Place — Hotel Statler, Washington. Tickets at the American Good Government Society, 1624 “Eye” Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Price — \$15.00 per ticket.

Anniversary: Ten years ago this week — to be exact on February 2, 1944 — HUMAN EVENTS was born. (Our irreverent office unfortunately has engaged in an unseemly argument as to whether this was or was not a “blessed” event.) Anyway, the obstetrics took place in a modest locale. The address — 1737 H Street, N. W. — failed to reveal that the hallowed place was simply the small hotel suite of one of the editors. A four-page article provided all the copy, for it was only a month later that the news comment section was added. At the bottom of the last page, it was inconspicuously but firmly disclosed that we were taking subscriptions for three months only. Even the most optimistic of our handful of initial friends could not ignore the fact that there loomed danger of infant mortality.

For, the editors had reason to look at the future of the enterprise with doubt. (The staff masthead read: “Frank C. Hanighen, Editor. Felix Morley and William Henry Chamberlin, Contributing Editors.”) We were all old enough to recall vividly the hysteria attendant to the first World War, when “hang the Hun” was the prevailing attitude. Besides, we had a quaint notion that, as we put it later, “a great deal of America’s war effort was misplaced, that an essential mission was being neglected or, when given attention, was bungled. The mission we had in mind was the preparation for the peace which was to follow the war.” Such a peace, we saw, would necessarily be affected by our relations with our allies.

Accordingly, in our first number, February 2, 1944, written by William Henry Chamberlin, we impudently suggested that “all was not well between Churchill and Stalin, that the recent Teheran conference, billed as a great love feast, was actually the scene of an Anglo-Russian clash and that ‘Stalin is trying to impose a dictated Munich peace settlement of the Polish question on Great Britain and the United States.’ How ‘obstructionist’ such statements appeared then; how commonplace they look now.” We went on to other insolences — rank heresy in those days. Thus, on August 15, 1945, Frank C. Hanighen warned readers (in an article entitled “The Far Eastern Dilemma”), that by surrender to Russia’s diplomacy we faced “the loss of America’s war in the Far East”. And, on Nov. 21, 1945, Felix Morley did an analysis, “A Travesty of Justice”, pointing out the appalling nature of the Nuremberg Trials.

Subsequently we turned our attention to other fields, other areas of bureaucracy than our incredible State Department; to those mighty offices where “everybody’s business is nobody’s business.” Frank Chodorov tore the mask from the illusion of “social security”. And in still another sector of our country, William F. Buckley, Jr., told the truth about what goes on in the field of higher education.

Long ere this, the critical three-months period had brought a clamor for continuance of HUMAN EVENTS. Over the past ten years, the faithful support of readers who demanded a publication which would pierce the veil of official propaganda constantly encouraged the editors to persevere in their effort to bring out the truth. So, we will bring to a close this immodest account by suggesting to you — the reader — that whatever indiscretions we may commit in this consecrated anniversary year will in all probability become commonplace in the year 1964 — or perhaps sooner. We therefore salute you, in warning and in gratitude.

Entered as second class matter at the Post Office, Washington, D. C. Quotation up to a paragraph is permitted with credit to HUMAN EVENTS. For reproduction or more extensive quotation address requests to HUMAN EVENTS, 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Trial Subscription, three months for \$3. Six months, \$5.50. One year, \$10. Two years, \$18. First class mail, one year, \$11.00; six months, \$6.00. Domestic airmail (including APO and FPO) one year, \$12.00; foreign (regular mail) one year, \$11. Foreign airmail rates on request. Please remit in U.S.A. DOLLARS. Allow two weeks for new subscription or change of address to become effective.